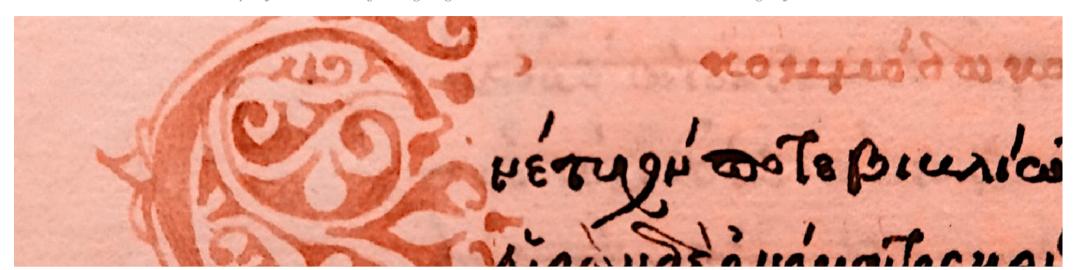






PURA. Purism In Antiquity: Theories Of Language in Greek Atticist Lexica and their Legacy





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PURA. Purism In Antiquity: Theories Of Language in Greek Atticist Lexica and their Legacy

Lexicographic entries

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όπωροπώλης, όπωρώνης

(Phryn. Ecl. 176, Poll. 6.128)

A. Main sources

- (1) Phryn. Ecl. 176: ὀπωροπώλης· τοῦθ' οἱ ἀγοραῖοι λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ πεπαιδευμένοι ὀπωρώνης ὡς καὶ Δημοσθένης. ὀπωροπώλης: Unsophisticated people use this [form], while educated people [say] ὀπωρώνης, like Demosthenes also [does] (18.262 = C.1).
- (2) Poll. 6.128: βίοι ἐφ' οἷς ἄν τις ὀνειδισθείη [...] ὀπωρώνης ὀπωροπώλης.

 Manner of livings (i.e. professions) for which one could be made fun of [...] ὀπωρώνης and ὀπωροπώλης.
- (3) Thom.Mag. 258.9–10: ὀπωρῶν ἀνήτωρ οἱ ἀγοραῖοι· σὺ δὲ ὀπωρώνης λέγε, ὡς καὶ βοώνης καὶ ὀψώνης.

 Unsophisticated people [say] ὀπωρῶν ἀνήτωρ ('purchaser of fruit'), but you should use ὀπωρώνης, like βοώνης and ὀψώνης.

B. Other erudite sources

(1) [Hdn.] *Epim*. 211.9–12: τὰ διὰ τοῦ -ονης ἄπαντα, εἰ μὲν καθαριεύει τὸ ο, μικρογραφοῦνται· οἷον· γυρόνης· Μηριόνης· Κεβριόνης· καὶ τὰ ὅμοια. εἰ δὲ μὴ καθαριεύει, διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου· οἷον· τελώνης· σιτώνης· βελώνης· ὀπωρώνης· καὶ τὰ ὅμοια.

All words ending in -ονης, if *omicron* is pure (i.e. follows *epsilon*, *iota*, *rho*), have a short vowel, like γυρόνης, Μηριόνης, Κεβριόνης, and the like. If *omicron* is not pure, [they have the suffix] with the long vowel, like τελώνης, σιτώνης, βελώνης, ὀπωρώνης, and the like.

- (2) Phot. ο 425: ὀπωρώνας· ἀνητὰς ὀπώρας. ὀπωρώνας: Purchasers of fruit.
- (3) Su. ο 484: ὀπωρώνης· ὁ τὰς ὀπώρας πωλῶν καὶ ἀγοράζων. [...].ὀπωρώνης: One who sells and purchases fruit. [...].
- (4) Hsch. ο 1083: ὀπωρώνας· τοὺς εἰς πρᾶσιν ἀνουμένους. ὀπωρώνας: Those who buy for sale.

C. Loci classici, other relevant texts

- (1) D. 18.262: σῦκα καὶ βότρυς καὶ ἐλάας συλλέγων ὥσπερ ὀπωρώνης ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων χωρίων. Picking up figs and grapes and olives, like a fruit-seller from other people's orchards.
- (2) P.Lond. 7.2002.24 (= <u>TM 970</u>) [Philadelphia, post 249 BCE]: Άμμωνίωι \όπωροπώληι/ δάνειον ἀργυρί(ου) (δραχμὰς) κ΄.

To Ammonius the fruit-seller a loan of money of twenty drachmas.

- (3) Aristaenet. 2.1: δίδου τοῖς σοῖς ὀπωρώναις τὴν ὥραν τρυγᾶν. Give your fruit-seller the time to reap the fruits.
- (4) P.Lond. 5.1794.4–8 (= $\underline{\text{TM 19767}}$) [Hermoupolis, 488 CE]: Αὐρήλιοι Ἰσίδωρος Ἀσκληπιάδο(υ) μ (ητρὸς) Θέκλας | καὶ Δωρόθεος Φοιβάμμω[ν]ος μ (ητρὸς) Θέκλας ἀμφό|τεροι ὀπώρωνη (lege ὀπωρῶναι) ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑρμο(υ)πολιτῶν ἀλλήλοις | χ (αί)[ρ](ειν). ὁμολογοῦμεν ἑτοἱμως ἔχε[ι]ν κοινωνεῖν ἀλλήλοις | χ [ι]ς τὴν προειρημένην τεχνὴν ἀπωρωνην (lege ὀπωρωνῶν).

The Aurelii Isidorus, son of Asclepiades and Theclas, and Dorotheus, son of Phoebammon and Theclas, both fruit-sellers from the city of Hermoupolis, greet each other. We agree to be willing to do a partnership with one another for the abovementioned craft of the fruit-sellers.

D. General commentary

Phrynichus (<u>A.1</u>) opposes ὀπωροπώλης – which he says was used by οἱ ἀγοραῖοι – to ὀπωρώνης, a form attested in Demosthenes, which Phrynichus says was used by οἱ πεπαιδευμένοι. Unlike Phrynichus, Pollux (<u>A.2</u>) puts ὀπωροπώλης and ὀπωρώνης on an equal footing, listing these forms among words for professions that can be used derogatively. Finally, Thomas Magister's gloss (<u>A.3</u>) is a little puzzling: although he evidently depends on Phrynichus' gloss, he substitutes ὀπωροπώλης with the periphrasis ὀπωρῶν ἀνήτωρ, which is equally odd given that ἀνήτωρ is a very rare Byzantine alternative to the far more common ἀνητής.

Both ὀπωροπώλης and ὀπωρώνης are unobjectionable compounds. Regarding ὀπωροπώλης, there is abundant evidence in 5th-century Attic for names of professions that have the second element -πώλης (<πωλέω 'to sell'), many of which are primarily attested in comedy (there is a list in DELG s.v. πωλέω; for a thorough investigation of names for professions with the second elements -πωλης and -πράτης in literary sources, inscriptions, and papyri, from ancient to Byzantine times, see Casarico 1983, Drexhage 1991, Hickey 1996, Drexhage 2002, Ruffing 2002, and Diethart 2005). As for ὀπωρώνης, this form belongs to a group of other compounds with the second element -ώνης (<ώνέομαι 'to buy'), which indicates resellers and state officials who oversee the buying of goods (a list in DELG s.v. ώνέομαι). A semantic difference between ὀπωροπώλης and ὀπωρώνης, however, is that while the former simply indicates people who sell fruit, the latter more specifically refers to a reseller (see \underline{B} .3 and \underline{B} .4; see DELG s.v. ἀνέομαι on compounds with the second element -ώνης: 'négociants et [...] fonctionnaires acheteurs, que seul l'usage attique distingue, parfois, comme revendeurs, du parallèle en -πωλης').

Phrynichus observes that ἀπωροπώλης was used by οἱ ἀγοραῖοι, whereas educated people used ἀπωρώνης instead. The point underlying this remark has been deemed elusive by previous scholars, who note that if Phrynichus' aim had been to say that ἀπωροπώλης was unacceptable, he would have been refuted immediately by innumerable counter-examples (see Lobeck 1820, 206). Indeed, not only is a compound like ἀπωροπώλης inoffensive as far as its formation is concerned (see above), Atticist lexicographers also regularly approve of compounds with the second element -πώλης (see ῥωποπώλης and γελγοπώλης in Ael.Dion. ρ 14 [= Eust. in Il. 3.459.29–460.1], βιβλιοπώλης in Phryn. PS 52.13, ῥωποπώλης in Phryn. PS 107.1–2, βελονοπώλης in Phryn. Ecl. 63, γελγοπώλης in Moer. γ 19; many more compounds with a second element -πώλης are recorded by Pollux). To my mind, Phrynichus' comment that ἀπωροπώλης was used by οἱ ἀγοραῖοι should be taken to mean that ἀπωροπώλης was perceived as unsophisticated Greek and therefore avoided by people who intended to use more distinctive language. In modern terms, the ascription of ἀπωροπώλης to οἱ ἀγοραῖοι is an indication of the sociolinguistic register to which this form belonged, and it does not reflect doubts concerning the correctness of such a compound. This may possibly have something to do with the very profession indicated by this word.

The distribution of ἀπωροπώλης and ἀπωρώνης is extremely uneven. While we are unaware of any attested literary occurrences of ἀπωροπώλης (save for a late and para-literary example, *Philogel.* 238 ὀζόστομος ἀπελθών εἰς ἀπωροπώλην ἠρώτα 'A man with bad breath went to the fruit-seller and asked'), there are several occurrences in papyri (the earliest being C.2, then P.Oxy. 6.980 [= TM 69486, 3rd century], P.Oxy. 8.1133.7 [= TM 21750, 396 CE], P.Oxy. 64.4441. col. vi.10 [= TM 23666, 315–6 CE]) and inscriptions (SEG 6.435.2 [Konya, South-Central Turkey, undated], MAMA 3.359.2–3 [Korykos, undated, Christian]). All these cases are informal texts (reports, private letters), and ἀπωροπώλης is used as the common, unmarked word for a fruit-seller. The only occurrence of ἀπωρώνης in a classical text is in a passage of Demosthenes (C.1), as recognised by Phrynichus (A.1) too. After an interval of many centuries, it resurfaces again in a letter of Aristaenetus (C.3) and in a late antique papyrus of legal content (C.4). Given the very limited diffusion of ἀπωρώνης, both these occurrences are compatible with the influence of Atticist doctrines, or at least with the use of more elevated language. The re-use of ἀπωρώνης in Aristaenetus (C.3) is consistent with his programmatic imitation of Attic models and language (see Arnott 1968 and Magrini 1981). The papyrus occurrence of ἀπωρώνης (C.4) is found in a partnership contract, a slightly more official type of document in which the use of more formal language is not unknown.

E. Byzantine and Modern Greek commentary

A few documentary occurrences of οπωροπώλης are attested in Byzantine texts (SEG 47.2023A.4–5 [Gadara, approx. 6th century CE] as οπεροπώλις [lege οπωροπώλης]; SB 18.13599.5 [= $\overline{\text{TM}}$ 36297, provenance unknown, 6th or 7th century CE]). In addition to the masculine, the feminine οπωροπωλις ('female fruit-seller') is attested too (see

LBG s.v.). While compounds in -πώλης, based on the common verb πωλῶ/ πουλάω 'to sell', are common in Medieval and Modern Greek (see CGMEMG vol. 2, 356), the archaic first element makes ὀπωροπώλης and οπωροπωλείο 'shop of a fruit-seller' learned terms with no real life in spoken or everyday Modern Greek. As Ioanna Manolessou informs me, they are found only as official appelations, and appear on shop signs only in order to make them sound more 'classy' (the only vernacular word for 'fruit and vegetable seller' being the Turkish μ ανάβης, with the shop being called μ ανάβικο).

Unlike ὀπωροπώλης, the Atticising equivalent ὀπωρώνης is unattested in Byzantine, Medieval, and Modern Greek (this is because no verb corresponding to ἀνέομαι survives).

Byzantine sources also attest to the existence of a third compound that is the same type as ὀπωροπώλης and ὀπωρώνης, namely ὀπωροπράτης (CHP vol. 2, no. 978 [Jerusalem, Byzantine times] with the comment ad loc. in SEG 60.1720, Tz. Epist. 57.82.10–4 Leone; the corresponding verb ὀπωροπρατέω is also attested, see Tz. Epist. 57.81.17 Leone). Unlike the other two compounds, ὀπωροπράτης is significantly later. Although πράτης and συμπράτης are attested in classical times (πράτης in Hyp. fr. 163 Jensen, συμπράτης in Lys. fr. 507 Carey and Din. fr. 34 Conomis), these forms were not approved by Atticists (see Orus fr. B 138)[= Phot. π 1142)]: πρατήρ· οὐχὶ πράτης ὑπὸ τῶν ἀττικῶν λέγεται 'πρατήρ: This form, not πράτης, is used by Attic authors'). Poll. 7.8 does include πράτης among derivatives from verbs meaning 'to sell', but he calls these forms σκληρά ('harsh'). More generally, all remaining compounds with the second element -πράτης are regularly (much) later than corresponding compounds with the second element -πράτης are regularly (much) later than corresponding compounds with the second element -πράτης s.v. πέρνημι).

F. Commentary on individual texts and occurrences

N/A

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ABSTRACT

This article provides a philological and linguistic commentary on the verbal compounds ὀπωροπώλης and ὀπωρώνης discussed in the Atticist lexica Phryn. Ecl. 176 and Poll. 6.128.

KEYWORDS

Compounds Fruit-sellers οἱ ἀγοραῖοι οἰπωροπράτης πωλέω ωνέομαι

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